2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands.

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows:

In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

> Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at
197 Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

175 The effect of the Tongans upon the Lauan physical type and language has been noted. Tongan influence is also marked in Lauan social life and technology.[14]

We have seen how the simple culture of the aborigines, the highly organized culture of the immigrants from Viti Levu on the west, and the influence from Tonga on the east met in the Lau islands. Conditioned by the natural setting of this island world, these divers strains fused into a unique form. The combination of social organization, economic life, technology, and outlook on life, found in Lau at the beginning of contact with western civilization, we call native Lauan culture. This native culture has been altered considerably in recent times by the influence of western civilization.

177 [14] The Lauan concept of rank based on ancestor worship and their interest in the secular side of life were elaborated. Many Tongan traits are widespread in Lau today and create the impression that the Tongan influence in the group is very extensive and significant. For instance, graceful Tongan oval houses with Gothic-arched gable roofs have entirely superseded Lauan rectangular dwellings. The Tongan method of joining barkcloth by pasting small strips together to form long sheets, and ornamenting them by rubbing dye over designs raised on tablets is used daily. Tongan influence on the Lauan culture was checked by the withdrawal of Tongan power and the penetration of European civilization before it had been thoroughly assimilated.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Rivalry between the high ranking social groups led to strife, and fortifications were built on every island.[57] Natural defences, situated on the edge of coral limestone plateaux or at the summit of volcanic hills, were reinforced by stone walls or by a series of ramparts of earth, surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds and often by a moat. Inside the walls were houses used only in times of danger by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets. Clubs, spears, bows, and slings were the principal weapons.[58]

Gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger ones.[59] There arose small chiefdoms like Kambara, which held Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and perhaps at one time Fulanga, in tributary relationship. Finally Kambara was absorbed by Lakemba, which became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.[60]

PERIODS 3 AND 4

The periods of Tongan and European influence, which overlap historically, will be discussed in one section because it is impossible to understand one without the other.

In the early nineteenth century European traders began to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer.[61] At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu, and Somosomo, Mathuata, and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms

[57] The following fortresses were examined: on Kambara—Nakorovusa, Naisevou, Nakoroyangai, Nakaka, Nakoro, Matai-Undu, Thaukenaloa; on Wangava—Ndengei, Korombalavu, Nambakua; on Mothe—Ndelaimakotu, Ndelaimothe; on Fulanga—Nauluvatu, Tchinambua.

[58] For the fortifications of the chief's village on Lakemba see Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For general information concerning fortifications and arms see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 78–81; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 43–59, 76; extracts from Cook (p. 108), Bligh (pp. 163–64), and Wilson (p. 210) in Henderson, *op. cit.*

[59] There were three grades of dependency between groups: mbatchi, nggali, and kaisi. The mbatchi included those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; the nggali included conquered groups from whom the chief extracted regular tribute in food and industrial produce; and the kaisi included defeated groups reduced to slavery.

[60] The tributary relationships in southern Lau cannot be reconstructed in detail with the available evidence until the islands came under the supremacy of Lakemba.

[61] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 95; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Berthold Seemann, *Viti, an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860–61* (London, 1862), p. 405; *Journal of William Lockerby, 1808–09* (Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, No. 52, 1925), p. ix.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 and western military tactics into Fiji.[62] This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power.[63] Larger war forces were used, and cannibalism and human sacrifice increased. Thus it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau to become dominant in Fiji in the first half of the century.[64]

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans into Fiji. Contact of the Fiji islands with Tonga[65] began before the eighteenth century. The missionary Williams[66] states that the recollection of the first voyage from Tonga was lost more than a hundred years before his time. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans,[67] mainly on account of the hardwood of southern Lau. They remained months and even years in Lau while they built large double canoes, far superior to their own.[68] They also visited Mbua for sandalwood,[69] which they used to perfume their oil, and Taveuni for red paroquet[70] feathers, which they traded to Samoa for decorating fine mats.[71] They gave in return Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs. They also paid in services, such as the loan of their women and help in warfare.[72] Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Fijian chiefs in order to learn it.[73] In return for services in warfare the Tongan warriors were given land occasionally, and colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.[74]

[62] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 62; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 457 footnote; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 3. [63] Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 272. [64] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 61–65.

[65] The voyage to Tonga took two to four days (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 3). [66] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 3.

[67] The Tongans were more daring sailors than the Lauans, who seldom ventured with their canoes out of sight of land. However, they did accompany the Tongans to Tonga occasionally (William Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, 2nd ed., London, 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 263–64). Cook met Fijians at Tongatabu on his third voyage (Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

[68] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 167; Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–40; Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 265. The Tongans learned a great deal about canoe building from the Lauans (*ibid.*, Vol. Vol. 2, p. 263). [69] Yasi (*Santalum yasi* Seem.).

[70] Kula (*Coriphilus solitarius* Latham), Seemann, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[71] Samoan fine mats and kilts were ornamented with red paroquet feathers usually obtained from Fiji (T. R. Hiroa, *Samoan Material Culture*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 75, 1930, pp. 256, 281).

[72] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 45, 94; Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 241.

[73] Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 66–70, 307.

[74] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 45. The greatest migration of Tongans was to Lakemba and the neighboring islands (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 4–5). Calvert states that Lakemba

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan chief, Maafu,[75] to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He secured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. Traders also helped him by extending credit to be repaid by the conquered in coconut oil, bêche-de-mer, and tortoise shell.[76] He was first to use canon on canoes in Fiji.[77] By the clever policy[78] of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, and as a last resort Thakombau,[79] the high chief of Mbau, applied to Great Britain for help. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.[80]

Tongan influence in Fiji reached a peak just before British annexation. Its effect upon the culture was weakened by the growth of western influence so that it was never thoroughly assimilated. It was strongest in Lau, especially on Lakemba, the residence of the chief. The Lauans are

had three Tongan settlements (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 15). Informants on Kambara said that a Tongan settlement was located at Naimarai on the beach near Vunisinu between Ndaku and Nggalinggali. Here they built their double canoes from Kambaran wood. The hull was placed over a trench dug in the ground. The workers stood in the trench, which was examined. For other Tongan settlements in Fiji see G. C. Henderson, *Fiji and the Fijians, 1835–1856* (Sydney, 1931), p. 51.

[75] Concerning Maafu see Seeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–55; Basil Thomson, *The Fijians* (London, 1908), p. 53.

[76] Seeman, *op. cit.*, p. 252. [77] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 53 footnote.

[78] First used at Lomaloma, Vanua Mbalavu, a large island in northern Lau (Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–43).

[79] Thakombau was not only troubled by the Tongans but also blamed for outrages against life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded $45,000 indemnity. In 1858 Thakombau negotiated with the British consul in Fiji for cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land on condition that the debt to America be paid (Seemann, *op. cit.*, p. 246). The end of the war between the Fijians and the Tongans really came in 1861, however, when Commodore Seymour drew up an agreement between the chiefs concerning Mathuata (Vanua Levu) in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade (*ibid.*, pp. 269–73).

[80] Smythe, sent by Great Britain to investigate the annexation question, recommended acceptance of Fiji for three reasons: (1) as a station for mail lines; (2) as a potential cotton source; (3) as a means of acquiring security in the Pacific (Mrs W. J. Smythe, *Ten Months in Fiji*, 1864, p. 205). Thakombau was given a pension of £1500 per year. He died in 1882 (Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 taller than the inhabitants of the rest of Fiji. They have markedly lighter skins, less negroid features, and many individuals have wavy hair.[81]

The main influence of the Tongans on Lauan culture[82] has been in the social life and in technology. The Tongan concept of divine chieftainship and rank, expressed in social ceremonial, elaborated that of the Lauans. The whale's tooth won exceptional significance.[83] It became the object of greatest ceremonial and economic value in Lau, a means by which wealth could be condensed, exchanged, and preserved, a symbol of social prestige.[84]

Women, especially those of rank, began to play a role in social life. The rank of a chief was reckoned no longer exclusively through his father, but also through his mother.[85] Women participated not only in the ceremonial preparation and serving of the kava root, but also in drinking it.[86] The chastity of girls of rank was emphasized, and chiefs' daughters were

[81] Tongan mixture alone, however, does not seem to account for the strong Polynesian strain in Lau, most apparent in the chief group. Even today members of the land group are usually smaller, darker, more frizzy-haired and coarser featured than the descendants of the immigrants. This is most striking on islands such as Fulanga where the population is composed largely of land people.

[82] Less canibalism, widow strangling, and burying alive were found in Lau than in Fiji proper. Henderson (*op. cit.*, 1931, p. 32) attributes this fact to Tongan influence.

[83] Jackson, who was two years in Fiji about 1840 and who learned the language, said he was always told that the tambua ndamu (red whales' teeth) were introduced to Fiji by Tongans. They were substituted for yanggona (kava) in ceremonies and called tambua, as kava had previously been called when presented ceremonially. Jackson estimated that there were twenty times as many white as red whales' teeth in Fiji. Frequent oiling and handling turned the teeth red. Whales' teeth, especially red ones, held the highest value in ceremonial exchange, and life and death depended upon them (Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 439). Also Williams and Calvert (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 94; Vol. 2, p. 5) state that the Tongans brought whales' teeth to Fiji. Hocart (Man, No. 96, 1914) states that a whale's tooth is called kava in the tauvu presentation ceremony of the Dhakaundrove, Vanua Levu, and evidently kava formerly was the offering.

[84] Mariner (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 302) states that it was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth, but this is not true today.

[85] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 32.

[86] Hocart states that the Fijian mode of ceremonial kava drinking at state occasions was discontinued under the rule of Maafu (who died in 1881) but it was restored later under the fourth Lord of Naiau (*op. cit.*, 1929, p. 63). The Tongan method is less formal than the Fijian. In the former the kava root was formerly chewed by youths (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141). A four-legged Tongan type of bowl is used. There is less hand clapping and no kava mekes are sung. In Lakemba the Tongan method, described by Hocart (*op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 60–63), is used on important occasions. The Fijian kava ceremony is used in the wading ceremony and at the installation of chiefs (*ibid.*, p. 63). In southern Lau the modified Fijian ceremony is used on all formal occasions. Since chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government, the root is either pounded with a stone hammer on a flat slab or with an iron bar pestle in a wooden mortar.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

isolated, fattened, and forbidden the sin in preparation for marriage.[87] Perhaps it is also through Tongan influence that Lauan women do not work in the fields, whereas in other parts of Fiji they are responsible for a large part of the gardening.

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, probably also came into Lau from Tonga. It is an exotic belief, unrelated to the beliefs of either the early inhabitants or the immigrants, but similar to a concept found in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.[88]

Tongan carpenters,[89] sent to Lau to build canoes, had a marked effect on Lauan technology. Not only did the canoe and all woodcrafts gain in importance, but the oval Tongan house was introduced and pushed out the old Lauan form.[90] The oval house was raised on an earth mound and the height of the mound reflected the rank of the owner.[91] With the increased importance of woodcrafts, the prestige of professional carpenters was enhanced.

Another Lauan technic greatly influenced by the Tongans was tapa making. The Tongan rubbing method[92] was introduced and combined with the Fijian stencil method.[93] The women of Mothe and Namuka formed

[87] A custom still practised on Kandavu Island.

[88] Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 99, 101–102; E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales* (Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 8, Honolulu, 1924), pp. 153–80.

[89] During Period 2 a group of carpenter sibs called Matai Sau monopolized the carpentry craft. According to the Lauan lore, the founder of this group, Rokola, came from northeast Viti Levu to Lau before Ndaunisai. Rokola is known in Viti Levu as the god of the carpenters (Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 249). Each chief had a number of the Matai Sau attached to his retinue, but gradually the chiefs began to employ Tongan carpenters, who competed seriously with the Lauan group. Finally a group of carpenters called Matai Lemaki became established as the high chief's carpenters. This group traces its pedigree to Lemaki who, according to his descendants, came from Samoa through Tonga to Lakemba.

[90] The change was in process when Bligh saw Ngau Island in the Koro Sea west of Lau, on his second voyage (Henderson, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 164).

[91] Today the height of the house mound depends not only on rank but also on wealth and energy.

[92] Used to make ngatu vaka Tonga (Tongan tapa). Strips of barkcloth, up to about seventy-five meters long, are rubbed with Lauan rust-brown dyes over raised geometric or naturalistic designs called kupetchi. Some of the kupetchi now being used were made in Tonga. Others were made on Lakemba, Ono, and Vanua Mbalavu (islands where Tongan influence has been strong). They are rare and highly valued.

[93] The result is called ngatu vaka vitchi (Fijian tapa). A large, rectangular sheet of fine tapa is decorated, partly by the Tongan rubbing method, partly by the Fijian stencil method. Geometric design units are used for stenciling. Only a few women know how to make ngatu vaka vitchi, which calls for originality and is the most valued tapa in Fiji. It is made well on Matuku and Lakemba (see Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 65–67).

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 guilds, according to the Tongan pattern, in order to supply the demand for Lauan barkcloth. Quite likely the naturalistic designs found in Lau and not in Fiji proper are the result of influence from Tonga, where naturalistic designs prevail.

The Tongan chiefs stimulated the production of perfumed oil by exacting large quantities as tribute from the southern islands.[94] To meet the demand, coconut plantations were systematically planted and these served later as a basis for the copra trade.

Turning to European influence, we find that the Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries.[96] They came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga and established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They brought Tongan teachers with them[96] and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans.[97] During the first fifteen years the Lakemba mission made slow headway along the Lauans, but finally in 1849 the high chief of Lau was converted[98] and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Chapels in charge of native missionaries were built on each island and Sunday was introduced as a day of rest, prayer, and feasts. From the beginning the missionaries waged a death struggle against the houses of the gods, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, cave burial, and the tattooing of women.[99] In this undertaking they were aided by the colonial government. Warfare soon ceased in the group. The people were forbidden to live in hamlets in the interior of the islands and they moved to new villages along the coast.

Christianity had a great influence on the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native dieties were said to be devils and the word tevoro (devil) was introduced to the culture.[100] So Christianity compensated for the loss of a hierarchy of old gods with a hierarchy of new devils. For some time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared

[94] Southern Lau is known for its perfumed coconut oil, prized also in Tonga. To cope with the increased production, large wooden bowls called papasia were used. A few of these may still be seen in Lau.

[96] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 5–8; Henderson, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 32.

[96] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 12. Six years before the arrival of the first missionaries two Tahitian teachers were sent from Tonga to Lakemba. They were persecuted there and later settled on Oneate (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 9 footnote).

[97] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 10–12. [98] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 138.

[99] The missionaries, however, tried to uphold the system of chiefly tribute (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 75). [100] Hocart, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 185.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

to have more mana. But the old gods were still feared and secretly propitiated, and the natives were tormented by a conflict of loyalties. Gradually, as the natives adapted western ideas to their own, lotu (the gospel taught by the missionaries) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. 175

The immediate result of mission influence, however, was the undermining of the ancestor cult, the basis of the social system. In spite of the efforts of the government and the mission to uphold it, the institution of chieftainship was weakened. Its inner structure depended on the ancestor cult and its outer form was determined by the rank system. Although the government officials tried to appoint local chiefs as their representatives, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was to split the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs between the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries. So there arose a secret society called luve ni wai, which was forbidden by the government. The members of this organization secured a guardian spirit with whose help they predicted the future, discovered new medicines, and originated new dance forms. Many individuals tried in this way to regain their lost prestige.

Under British rule the Mbauan dialect became the official language. Missionaries and officials used it in communicating with the natives, so that today we find spoken in Lau a mixture of the Lauan and Mbauan dialects with a few additional Tongan words.[101] In time schools were started on most islands under native masters, who taught the children to read and write Mbauan. Teachers were trained not only in mission schools but also in a recently established government training school on Viti Levu. An attempt was made to introduce a few simple methods of hygiene, particularly regarding child birth and care.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export product of the Fiji group. As the industry grew, the coconut acreage was increased and the Lauan plantations, which had supplied tribute to the Tongan chief, began to be used commercially. In exchange for copra the Lauans received tobacco,[102] cloth, soap, tinned beef,

[101] Hocart (*op. cit.*, p. 231) has pointed out that Polynesian words which are distinctly non-Tongan occur in the Lauan dialect. These words may be due to contact with the immigrants from the west in Period 2, but the point cannot be determined without examination of the linguistic evidence.

[102] Tobacco smoking was introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 161).

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 rice, tea, and oil. As they acquired a taste for European trade goods, they began to neglect their other economic pursuits such as fishing, gardening, canoe building, and interisland trade. Men, women, and children worked on the plantations belonging to their sibs. There followed a period of prosperity which lasted until the copra slump after the World War.

Then the copra trade in Lau ended abruptly. Communication with the outside world was cut, and the natives found themselves no longer in a position to secure many trade goods upon which they had become dependent.

PERIOD 5

A new period began. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts began to flourish, trade between the islands revived, and the whole daily routine resembled olden days. The hereditary master fisherman, whose title is determined by rank, regained control of the communal fishing. The first fruits of the harvest were again presented, but now to the old chief and the native colonial official jointly,[103] while in the first and second periods they had been offered to the gods and in the third to the chiefs. Large, single sailing canoes, with improved rigging due to western influence, have replaced the cutter but the double canoe has disappeared. Wooden bowls are made in large quantities but with less skill than in olden days. The tapa and mat making industries are again flourishing and native rope, fish lines, and fish nets are replacing imported articles.

Now the natives have regained most of their old economic independence. A few articles are still imported. Metal axes and bush knives have become quite indispensable, and it would be very difficult for the Lauans to give up trade cloth and cooking pots. Today axes, bush knives, cooking pots, and trade cloth form practically the only economic ties which link southern Lau with the outside world.

British political control is being adjusted more and more to the old order, high ranking families are receiving more attention, and a new pattern of social values is in process of formation.

As far as religion is concerned, the outer forms of Christianity have been incorporated into the native ceremonial life, but the inner conflict, caused by the weakening of the ancestor cult, has not yet been satisfactorily solved. This conflict tends to sap vitality from the culture. It is to a great extent responsible for the restlessness of the natives, in spite of their growing economic and social stability.

Reviewing the culture history of Lau we find:

178 The first great merging was of a simple, indigenous Melanesian type of culture with a highly organized, intrusive Micronesian-Polynesian

[103] Witnessed in Tokalau, Kambara.

174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174
175
648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji;

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands.

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

afterwards transpired that Tui Na Turuku had, with two men called Bavatu and Vili, been tried by the Government of Maafu (the Tongan conqueror of Lau, who handed over his kingdom to England when Fiji became a Crown Colony) fifteen years previously for "killing a man by *vakadraudrau* at Cicia Island," and that Bavatu had been found guilty and executed; and further, that Vili on his death-bed in exile at Levuka had acknowledged that he had been the cause of several deaths by *vakadraudrau* at Lomaloma. And further, that since that time Tui Na Turuku had been under strong suspicion of being the cause of the death of a man named Livai at Lomaloma, through whose body a stake was found pierced after death! The people dismantled and removed Livai's house, and found a small vessel, containing the ingredients mixed with a piece of Livai's clothing, buried under the doorway of the house.

In a case happening within recent years it is said that the suspicious relatives shrewdly placed a sheet of iron under a thin layer of earth covering the grave, and that the murderer, on trying to spear the grave, was so upset by the mysterious power that broke his spear that he was turned insane. But this happened before I came to Lau, and I can find no authentic record of it.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, white men "eat different food" (which, to a native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*).

Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Here we came to a level stretch of smooth, hard sand and our horses raced along at the water's edge, as glad to stretch their limbs as we were to feel the cool breeze. Presently we drew up where some cliffs went straight down to the sea, and here we took a track that led inland for a little way towards the town of Mabula.

"You may have heard, sir," said Wiliami, chuckling, "concerning a former native magistrate named Samani, and of his giving to the Mabula people their *lotu*[1] by means of a club. This was in the early days of the Government, and when the *lotu* had not been long in the land. Ratu Samani was a big chief from Lakeba Island, and he also considered that he was skilled in preaching; so he thought that it was his duty to make the heathen at Mabula believe in the new *lotu*. Therefore, on a certain Sunday he walked to Mabula and climbing into the pulpit in the native house that was then the church building for the use of the few who were believers, he told all the village that they must obey his *lotu* that he had brought with him. But the men of Mabula were *via via levu*,[2] for he was not a chief of their land, and would not listen to his words. So on the following Sunday he journeyed again to Mabula, though his friends would have dissuaded him, and this time he took with him his

[1] Religion. [2] Insolent.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

war-club. Again he entered the pulpit and addressed the men of the town, and again were they *via via levu* and laughed when he spoke.

"Great, then, was his anger, and he pulled off his white shirt—for he had on a foreign shirt which a missionary had given him—and stood upright in the pulpit, very fierce, and, holding aloft his club, 'Men of Mabula,' he cried, scornfully, 'if ye will not listen to my Bible, the Bible of the *lotu*, ye shall at least listen to the bible of Tui Lakeba' (the god of Lakeba); and he banged the club on the pulpit so that he almost broke the desk. Then were the men of Mabula much afraid and remained silent, and listened to his words; and never again did they mock in the church, for he warned them that he would return and beat them should such report reach him.

"But the Mabula people were ever unruly and turbulent; and I have heard that in the old days when the white chiefs first came here to plant cotton, and placed wire fences around their lands, the men of Mabula were for ever cutting these fences and stealing. So that once it was decided to teach them a lesson, and Misi Emesoni[1] (Emberson) assembled all the whites together, armed, and with them all their labourers from Tanna[2]

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Mr. Emberson, Receiver-General of the Colony.

[2] In the New Hebrides.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things.

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove.

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.